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OPINION

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A MAN AND HIS COUNTRY

How shall a man love his country?
Worshippingly and adoringly as his Goddess;
Reverently and affectionately as his Mother;
Tenderely and passionately as his Beloved.
Thus shall a man love his country.

How shall a man understand his country?
Freeing himself from the illusions of predeliction and prejudice,
Observing carefully and studying deeply all manner of men and conditions within it,
Humbly attempting to be intellectually clear-sighted and honest,
Beholding it, as far as possible, with the eye of eternity,
Regarding himself, despite all these, as blood of its blood and flesh of its flesh,
Depriving not even its worst manifestations of his all-abiding sympathy,
Thus shall a man understand his country.

How shall a man serve his country?
Being honest in all his dealings,
Setting an example of probity and decent conduct,
Making his word his bond in matters great and small,
Readily accepting in practice the demands of good citizenship,
Extending a helping hand to the needy and the less fortunate,
Making the best use of all opportunities for betterment, physical and intellectual,
Taking a continuous interest in national and local affairs,
Studying the country's problems and applying his mind to their solution,
Courageously standing for right causes in the face of strong opposition, bitter denunciation, and personal danger,
Letting despair not work upon him even in the country's darkest hours,
Finding full reward for right in doing right,
Thus shall a man serve his country.

NORMALCY

(*Continued from* 10-2-1975)

Let us consider this in relation to Mr. Gokhale's first instance, the making impossible of debates in Parliament. How ? By frequent interruptions, by not obeying the Speaker, by occasional disorder, by insisting on getting on one's feet and speaking while another member is addressing the House. Clearly under the Rules of Parliament, the Speaker has ample powers to deal with all or any of these abuses. He can name the member or members misbehaving, he can suspend them for a substantial period, he can even with the approval of the House, keep them out of the House for a whole session. The Speaker, having the ruling majority party behind him, no member can hope seriously to challenge him without serious consequence to himself. What was the Speaker doing to let such conditions develop that the work of Parliament became impossible ? What were the Government and the ruling party doing that they did not pull up the Speaker and remind him of his duty ? Clearly, a failure of responsibility by both. No new powers, no emergency, was needed to deal with such a situation. All that was necessary was a proper exercise of the powers already possessed. That in itself would have amply sufficed to produce normalcy, the normalcy that existed before authority's laxity allowed the aberration from it to appear and grow.

Take Mr. Gokhale's second point, legislators being forced to resign. Again, the law of criminal intimidation is clear. Why was it not resorted to ? If the legislators were merely subjected to verbal persuasion, surely they, who spend a good deal of their time persuading others verbally, should scarcely object. The choice to accept or reject such appeals was theirs. If it went beyond that, they could easily call on authority to enforce the law. Only if authority failed in that duty, refused to excercise the powers it already had, would any question of legislators being forced to resign arise. Here, too, normalcy would seem to be easily restorable, if authority recognised its own responsibility and exercised the powers it possessed before the emergency. In fact real Normalcy is not difficult to return to, and is very much in the interest of the people. Authority shies away from it, because it involves shedding the enormous powers it has acquired during the period from 25th June 1975.

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER

J. B KRIPALANI

The Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad in June 1930 in connection with the Salt Satyagraha. It "expressed its abiding faith in Civil Disobedience." It chalked out a Programme including a no-tax campaign, boycott of foreign cloth and British banking, and appealed to the military and police forces to strive for the freedom of their country like the Satyagrahis who were their brothers.

The Viceroy promulgated a dozen ordinances to counteract picketing, non-payment of taxes and tampering with the loyalty of Government servants.

On June 30, Government arrested Motilal Nehru, the Acting President, and declared the Working Committee as an unlawful association. Thousands of people were jailed. Government by ordinances went on. Many newspapers and printing presses were shut down, including the Navajivan Press. Gandhiji's 'Young India' appeared in a cyclostyled form.

On July 9, the Viceroy addressed a Joint Session of the Council of State and the Central Legislative Assembly. Among other things, he said, "that by way of the conference it should be possible to reach solutions that both countries, and all parties and interests in them can honourably accept..." Within a week of this, a conference of 40 members of the Nationalist and Independent Parties in the Assembly and a few members of the Council of State, unanimously passed a resolution authorising M. R. Jayakar to negotiate for a settlement between the Congress and the Government. The Viceroy agreed to both Sapru and Jayakar seeing Gandhiji, Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru in jail, to bring about normal conditions.

Both the Peace Intermediaries had long conversations with Gandhiji in Yervada Jail on July 23 and 24. Gandhiji gave a note and a letter for the Nehrus. Sapru and Jayakar interviewed the Nehrus in Naini Prison on July 27. The conversations lasted for two days, but the Nehrus refused to make any suggestions without consulting Gandhiji and other colleagues of the Working Committee.

The Nehrus were brought to Yervada Jail and the joint interview took place on August 13, 14 and 15 between Sapru and Jayakar on the one side and the Congress leaders on the other. The result was a letter signed by Gandhiji and the Nehrus.

The negotiators interviewed the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, with the letter. At the time he said, "I do not think any useful purpose would be served" (at present).

Repression continued merrily. Other Congress leaders too were arrested, the Congress Committees were declared illegal bodies, their meetings were banned and their properties confiscated. These measures drove the Congress underground. It no longer dominated the streets, but its bulletins

were still printed secretly and distributed. Surprise street corner meetings were held. A no-tax campaign was led by the Sardar in Bardoli.

Yet, within a few months, on January 25, 1931, Irwin released Gandhiji and the members of the Working Committee, withdrawing the ban on their meetings and on the Congress Committees, saying, "My Government will impose no conditions on these releases, for we feel that the best hope of restoration of peaceful conditions lies in discussions being conducted by those concerned under the terms of unconditional liberty.... If civil quiet were proclaimed and assured, Government would not be backward in response."

This chapter finds no place in "The Glimpses of World History"!

TYRANNY

SADHAN KUMAR GHOSH

Tyranny is no longer limited to Gulag Archipelago but is spreading. Yet it is a fact that unlike fascism and communism which are modern viruses, tyranny is ageless. In Ancient Greece, it is true, the word "tyrant" meant something different from what it does to-day. It referred to the source of power and not to the manner in which power was exercised, and so great a freedom lover as Byron had kind things to say about one of the tyrants, Miltiades. But that was a long time ago. Today, the tyrant corroborates Lord Acton at every step. Maurice Latey writes: "We live in an age of tyrants, and have a special interest in diagnosing tyranny in its early stages before the danger becomes too great." Machiavelli's *The Prince* is a handbook for tyrants but the modern tyrant, needs no instruction. Tyrants communicate with each other by a sort of telepathy across the centuries and the oceans and seem to grasp by instinct what they do not learn by study. The modern tyrant however emulates Hitler and Stalin (whom Latey describes as "great beasts of history").

Aristotle defined tyranny as "irresponsible rule over equals or betters in the interest of the ruler but not in the interest of the ruled." The modern tyrant has however adopted *"L'Etat c'est Moi"* as his watchword. Since he controls the mass media, the instruments of persuasion or coercion, it is not difficult for him to make many persons accept his self-imposed identification with the State, the People or the Proletariat. A more sophisticated definition is Pascal's. Pascal writes: "Tyranny consists in the desire of universal power beyond its scope.... So these expressions are false and tyrannical: 'I am fair, therefore I must be feared; I am strong, therefore I must be loved; I am indispensable, therefore I must be retained.' *Tyranny is the desire to have in one way what can only be had in another.*" Nonetheless the mere enactment of harsh laws does not make one a tyrant.

Modern tyrannies are indeed apt to be totalitarian exercising arbitrary power over their citizens in all aspects of their lives. But historically, not all tyrannies were totalitarian States, nor were all totalitarian States tyrannies. The Greek City States were totalitarian but not tyrannical. The Roman Empire was tyrannical, especially under Diocletian and his successors, but not totalitarian. Mussolini was a totalitarian, but not a tyrant. It is only Hitler, Stalin and their imitators who have combined the two most hateful traits of public life. It is only in our time with modern means of transport, communication and indoctrination that totalitarian tyranny over vast super-States has become possible.

Great tyrants have generally appeared in circumstances that appeared to facilitate the emergence of autocracy or a combination of autocracy and oligarchy. However, one of the compulsive conditions is the imperious necessity of unity either in a common culture or a common nation and the inability to achieve it by consent and agreement. Hannah Arendt mentions

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another condition, *viz.* the total alienation of selfish and fanatical bodies of men from the society in which they live, their belief that their opponants must be exterminated or purchased. This condition is ubiquitous in the corrupt countries of the modern world. And of course, a third condition endemic in all tyranny is *trahison des clercs,* the treason of the "intellectuals", the sell-out of writers, journalists and vice-chancellors for 'thirty pieces of silver' (or its modern equivalent). But for our present purpose we may leave out the absolute monarchies of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The new tyranny, which had so traumatic an effect on the poet Wordsworth was Robespierre's "The Reign of Terror". The arbitrary and traditional tyranny was mild and incompetent in comparison with Hitler, Stalin and Gulag Archipelago. The fourth condition of modern tyranny is a sense of national humiliation or a keen awareness of national incompetence. Maurice Latey writes: In a world of rapid technological advance there is chronic instability, and inflation, either creeping or galloping, in many lands leads to that constant sense of insecurity which sends men scurrying under the wings of father-figures, leaders or dictators, while the collapse of traditional moral standards, the conflict of values and an assiduously cultivated personality cult (not to mention a cowed and mercenary mass media) makes them crave the word of command.

When he was interviewed about Mussolini's prospects, that other great Italian gangster, Al Capone said "He will be O.K. if he can keep the boys in line". That is the modern equivalent of the oldest maxim of tyranny, i.e. cutting off the heads of the tallest poppies. The names of Tarquinius Superbus, and of Periander of Corinth are associated with this particular safeguard of tyranny. Aristotle tells us that Periander of Corinth did not confine himself to lopping off the outstanding and the proud men, he destroyed the twin emotions of pride and confidence among the people. The modern tyrant is not content with neutralising or liquidating the outstanding and the eminent. He also ostracises the honest and the men of integrity. Tyranny, in fact, says Aristotle aims at three things—first to keep the subjects humble, secondly, to have them distrust each other, thirdly, to render them powerless for political action.

The tyrant's first problem is the consolidation of power. Stalin, the most detestable of all tyrants saw to it that his chief rival, Trotsky (and to a lesser extent, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Bukharin) dissipated their time and energy in speculations on ideology. All the while Stalin was packing the party and the Politbureau with his agents. However, there is much substance in Solzhenitstyn's contention that Stalin merely continued the policy initiated by Lenin or rather he exploited the lapses of Lenin. Such observers as Rosa Luxemburg, Plekhanov and Martov had prophesied that Lenin's failure to associate the rank and file of the party with power manipulation would lead to Stalin's tyranny and something like Gulag Archipelago. Stalin was the first tyrant to politicalise the police. Neither justice nor the Rule of Law can exist in a country where the police is an instrument of the Ruling Party, and will plead impotence about recording complaints not only against Ministers but their hired hoodlums. In 1953

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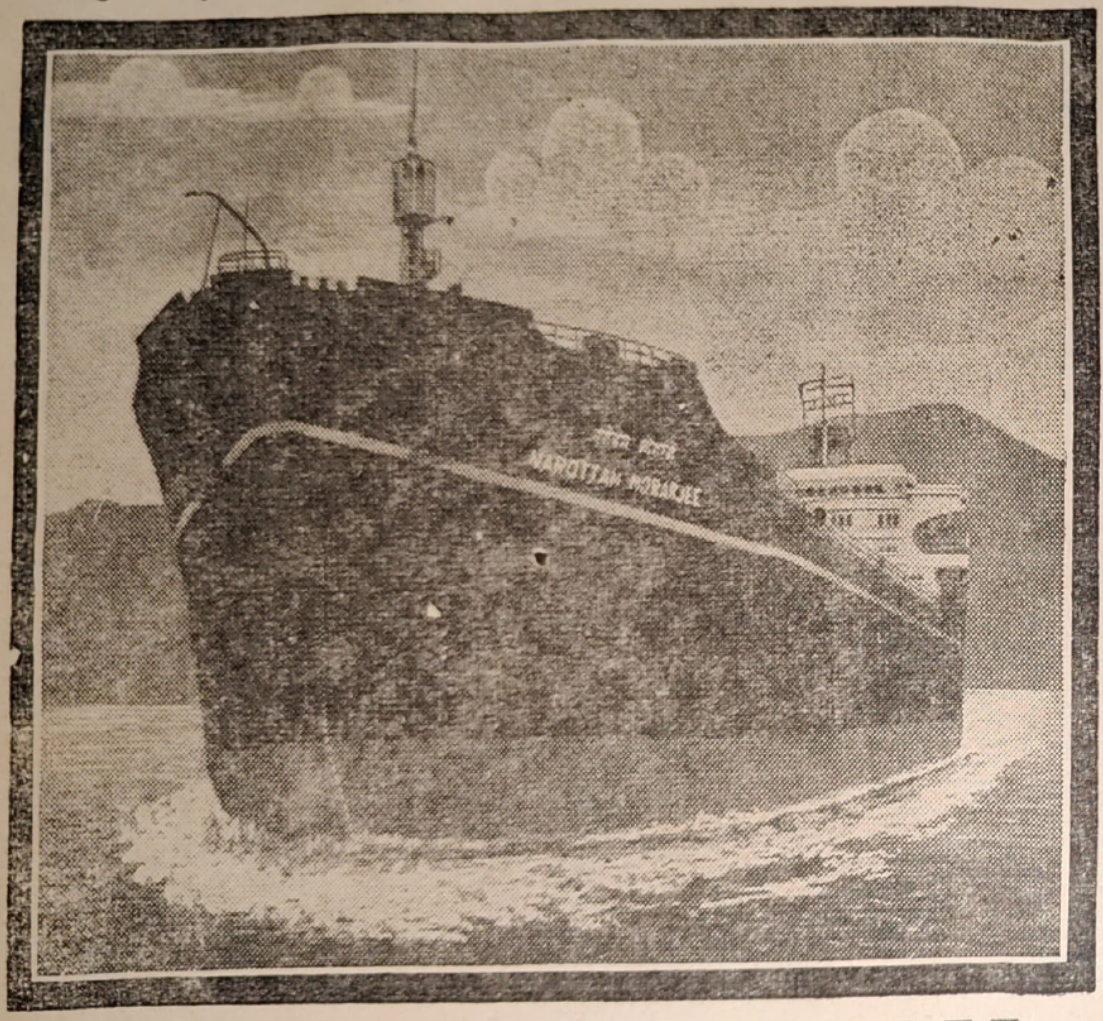

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SCINDIA
ESTD-1919

Carl Friedrich analysed the components of Stalinist or Russian tyranny—(1) An official ideology covering all vital aspects of man's existence. (2) A single mass party conditioned and dedicated to the ideology organised in strict hierachical manner. (3) A technologically conditioned near-complete monopoly of means of effective armed combat. (4) A similar monopoly of means of mass communication. (5) A system of terroristic police control directed against arbitrarily selected classes of the population systematically exploiting scientific psychology. Since then Brainwashing has become Russia's national industry.

Modern tyrants, says Maurice Latey, have found it necessary to simulate the conditions of war even in peace-time. And this, says Maurice Latey, is the distinguishing feature of modern totalitarianism rather than any specific form of organisation. Fascist and Crypto-communist governments never miss an opportunity of raising bogeys of encirclement and conspiracy. This, approximately is the contour of modern post-Hitler totalitarianism and tyranny. The will is that of the tyrant and of a small group about him; but it can only be enforced by the active and willing participation of a vast number of agents, agents-provocateurs and informers which can only be secured in a certain climate of opinion and induced euphoria.

Regimentation of intellectuals was first attempted by Stalin, not Hitler. By the whip, and by the carrot—since the rewards for the conformist writers and artists are great—Stalin sought to produce a new Soviet intelligentsia immune to liberalism, democracy, the soul of which is dissent, and cosmopolitanism; a priesthood of the ideology. It is much to the credit of the Russian intelligentsia that the combination of persecution, persuasion and payment of hush money failed to prevent the emergence of men like Pasternak, Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov.

Maurice Latey claims that it has now become the settled policy of the Soviet leadership to attempt to capture nationalist dictators for Communism. The policy was launched under Stalin when, in the early fifties, the U.S.S.R. backed the Guatemalan left-wing dictator Colonel Arbenz. The model is Fidel Castro of Cuba but other Soviet satellites included Nkrumah of Ghana (before his fall), Allende of Chile (before his death) and Ben Bella and Boumedienne (both of Algeria). There is a natural affinity between tyrants—almost, one might say, a dictators' international.

Sir James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* discussing the priesthood at Nemi says, that the tyrant shall, when his turn comes, be supplanted. In Shakespear's *Julius Caesar* Brutus reminds us that the tyrant's main ally is disunity among his critics. It is his function to sow and promote this disunity and then destroy them one by one. "So let high-sighted tyranny range on till each man drop by lottery." The tyrant's second ally is the vamped up Goebbelsian lie assuduously circulated through the controlled mass media about a danger or a threat to the nation. In Nazi Germany, this technique reached near-perfection. The tyrant's third ally is big money which enables him to hire unprincipled politicians, and

(*Continued on page* 17

EVELYN WOOD

R. E. HAWKINS

THE death of Evelyn Wood on 1 January in Bombay at the age of 73 pased almost without notice, perhaps because for the last few years he had lived as a recluse, writing and rewriting a treatise on Mass Communications so long and specialised that the University of Michigan only expects to issue a xeroxed edition. Named after Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C., he inherited his grandfather's adventurous, combative spirit; and perhaps his affinity for most things Indian and Vedantic philosophy came from the same roots as Annie Besant's, who was a distant relative. His career reflects his complexity. After a Jesuit schooling he entered the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth but at the age of 17 was apprenticed to an engineering firm in London. This was the time when he began contributing poems to Squire's *London Mercury*. In 1923, at the age of 20, he joined the firm of Rallis and was to buy or sell cotton piecegoods or sugar in Bombay for the next ten years. In 1928, he was playing the drums at the 5-H Fête on the Esplanade Maidan and in the early '30s was a prominent member of the Young Europeans' Club which sought to break the political deadlock by entertaining Indian leaders as far apart as the Maharaja of Bikaner and Mahatma Gandhi. Thereafter he was an active non-cooperator and did much to promote the success of the original Handloom House at Flora Fountain. For some years Evelyn Wood worked in an advertising firm, but his heart was in the villages. He spent a year in Aundh State, participating in Appa Pant's village work, which included trying out an 'open prison' system. Later he was recruited to work as a consultant in the first large-scale experiment in extension work, covering four hundred villages, funded by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Allahabad Agricultural Institute. He was one of the team which wrote *Gaon Sathi*, a guide book for extension workers published in 1956 by the Oxford University Press in English and Hindi. He always insisted that the townsman must learn from the villager before planning to change his way of life.

Throughout his restless career Eveyln Wood was contributing poems, light as well as serious, and articles to *Kurukshetra, Thought*, the *Economic Weekly* and other periodicals. This was only the tip of the iceberg, however, and many hundreds of his poems are still unpublished.

From his marriage with Maeve Wolfe, also Irish, was born one son, Diarmuid, who is now married and living in England. From his second marriage with Kamal Dastur, then fresh from Oxford and now Professor of English in the University of Bombay, were born two children, a daughter Leela and a son Anand, both at present in Bombay.

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A. RAMSAY TAINSH

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"THE Assault on World Poverty". That means this book takes up the problems of rural development and the system of education and health that has to be built up. It is especially important to students of international aid as it marks the end of an era. The rebuilding of the infrastructure of war-damaged Europe paved the way for rapid progress because the agricultural sector was intact and as soon as food could again flow to the towns the economy prospered.

The building of an infrastructure and multipurpose projects in Asia, Africa and Latin America was of little help because nothing was done to help the peasants, herdsman and shepherds.

The aim of this book is to increase the productivity of the agricultural sector especially of the poorest of the poor in rural areas. The chosen method is a Green Revolution on a smaller scale.

The officials of the World Bank have used the Gross National Product and the annual income per capita as yardsticks to measure progress and poverty. As peasants still barter much of their produce and pay debts in kind, many of the estimates are far from accurate.

On September 24th, 1973, Mr. Robert S. McNamara addressed the Board of Governors of the World Bank in Nairobi and undertook to help the rural and urban people in the poorest of the poor countries. He summarised his policy as follows :

"Though the strategy for increasing the productivity of smallholder agriculture is necessarily tentative, the following are essential elements of any comprehensive programme :

1. Acceleration in the rate of land and tenancy reform.
2. Better access to credit.
3. Assured availability of water.
4. Expanded extension facilities backed by intensified agricultural research.
5. Greater access to public services.
6. And most critical of all, new forms of rural institutions and organisations that will give as much attention to promoting the inherent potential and productivity of the poor as is generally given to protecting the power of the privileged.

These elements are not new. The need for them has been recognised before. But they will continue to remain little more than pious hopes unless we develop a framework of implementation, and agree to commitment of resources commensurate with their necessity. That is what I propose."

After the conference in Nairobi the staff of the World Bank in Washington D.C. was given the task of preparing a book based on the data available which had been collected when the policy was to concentrate on very large projects such as high dams, hydro-electric power stations and heavy and capital-intensive industries.

The first four sections of the book are entitled: Rural Development, Agricultural Credit, Land Reform and Education. Each has a summary and conclusion and masses of Tables and Appendices.

Mr. McNamara has himself written the Preface to the section on Education. Having read the first four sections he no doubt realised the difficulty of introducing a Mini-Green Revolution which requires the use of machines, fuel, lubricants, pesticides and chemical fertilisers, all based on high-priced crude oil.

A Mini-Green Revolution to be successful in terms of increased production would require that the peasants give up their well-tried traditional methods and accept the new and more costly ones.

The fifth section on Health is most refreshing as it has been written by men who know the rural areas. This section does not put the emphasis on curative drugs produced by the pharmaceutical industries but on simple preventive medicine: in other words, potable water, wholesome food and sound hygiene.

The following passage summarises the basic theme of the book:

> "Since rural development is intended to reduce poverty, it must be clearly designed to increase production and raise productivity. Rural development recognises that improved food supplies and nutrition, together with basic services such as health and education, cannot only directly improve the physical well-being and quality of life of the rural poor, but can also indirectly enhance their productivity and their ability to contribute to the national economy. It is concerned with the modernisation and monetisation of rural society, and with its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy."

Unfortunately, "The Assault on World Poverty" is of little help to the would-be aid givers. It offers no clear-cut plan of how to help the poorest of the poor. If the co-authors had studied the address given by Mr. George D. Woods to the Swedish Bankers Association on October 27th, 1967, on the subject of "Development—Need for New Directions" and his subsequent address in New Delhi on February 9th, 1968 to the Second UNCTAD, their task would have been simplified. Mr. Woods told the delegates from 132 countries that "Waste was to be found in many sectors but nowhere was it more important than in agriculture."

The staff of the World Bank have made no attempt to estimate the Gross National Waste of Food and the Domestic Fuel Requirements in the poorest of the poor countries. Assaulting world poverty without first attacking easily preventable waste just makes no sense. When this was realised, McNamara changed his policy and recommended working with Nature, which was introduced as the "Second Green Revolution". This is

nothing but a return to the well-tried traditional methods which harness the energy of the sun rather than high-priced fuel and put the emphasis on good husbandry and good housekeeping.

What the peasants need are airtight storage for their sun-dried grain and stone mills. These can eliminate about 60 diseases caused by birds, rodents, insects, mites, bacteria and fungi and the removal of roughage. The peasants also need small pumps to raise water. Water in the right place, in the right quantity and at the right time can increase yields of food, fodder, fibre and fuelwood four to eightfold. The most important subject completely ignored by the book is the need for massive reafforestation, the planting of wind-breaks and domestic fuelwood forests near every village and town so that the peasants will not have to dry the dung to be used as fuel but can use it to build up the humus, hold the soil and retain the moisture and feed the soil bacteria and fungi without which vegetation cannot thrive.

If Mr. McNamara has the time and the power to introduce and implement so radical a change of policy, then economic progress will be rapid and global inflation will be beaten. However, he will need new men in the World Bank, people with practical experience of peasant agriculture and forestry.

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(*Continued from page* 11)

deraciné rootless, jobless youth. History will level many charges against tyrants including embezzlement, liquidation of political opponents and alignment with other more powerful tyrants. But possibly the most serious charge will be the depravement and demoralisation of an entire generation.

Tyranny coupled with dynastic rule is a nervous break-down of the body politic. Modern society is subjected to a high degree of stress that often leads to tyranny. When this tyranny is coupled with megalomania and personality cult, there comes a proneness to claim immunity for its misdeeds—liquidation of political opponents, liquidation of dissent and suppression of Habeas Corups and Human Rights. In today's power-crazy and power-demented world, the misdeeds of a tyrant can in no circumstances claim immunity as internal affairs. They constitute the common concern of mankind.

Another ally of tyranny is the sense of alienation which is a feature of modern society. Maurice Latey claims that the most distinctive feature of the modern world is a crisis of confidence which is also a crisis of identity. A man's identity is largely determined by the goals which society sets him and by the image he has of himself as either achieving or rejecting them. A society in which the ruler and his colleagues make their illegitimate pile and throw their weight about is a compost of tyranny and oligarchy. From this arises the sense of trauma, frustration and alienation from society which Marx observed over a century ago. It is the sense of being a cog in a great machine, a means not an end which results in the loss of human dignity, purpose and identity. The modern tyrant promotes an acquisitive and predatory society, because the biggest exploiters of the people, the billionaires and the tax-dodgers become his natural allies, while the tax officers and vigilance men do well for themselves at the expense of the common honest people. One might adapt the language of W. B. Yeats in *Sailing to Byzantium* and say "This is no country for honest men".

When Julien Bende wrote *Le Trahison deClercs* in the heyday of Fascism, double standards did not exist and fascists did not need to proclaim themselves as anti-fascist. The neo-fascists, however, call themselves anti-fascist and the treason of the intellectuals is facilitated, who condone the suppression of freedom and facts in the belief that they are doing so in the interests of efficiency and discipline. The whip, the carrot and the Goebbelsian lie are the triple pillars of modern tyranny. Tyranny also finds a pluralistic society which has not attained full national integration highly congenial. It can exploit linguism and regionalism. History shows that pluralistic societies seldom realise or recognise the national menace until it is too late.

"We live in a shrinking world and the democratic vistas have ended in barbed wire" wrote Orwell more than thirty years ago. The relevance of his comment has much increased during this period. Tyranny has become rule by sudden arrests, slow poisoning and by endemic torture and terror. Young men are quietly shot in prisons and old men in

detention-camps are slow poisoned, only because the Leader does not approve of them. As Solzhenitsyn points out, arrest in Gulag Archipelago or one of its imitators is utterly different from arrest in a civilised democracy where judges are neither suborned nor bullied and where Habaes Corpus is not a memory. "The majority of those in power were pitiless in arresting others and handed over to retribution any friend or comrade of yesterday in pursuit of a worthless ideology." Tyranny is the obverse of the coin of constitutional government. But a tyranny masquerading as a democracy is the greatest menace to mankind. The deification of persons or certain of the techniques of power is almost by definition, a recipe for tyranny.

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PRESIDENTIAL RULE IN TAMIL NADU

K. SANTHANAM

The appointment of a judicial tribunal to enquire into the allegations of corruption and misuse of power by some of the ex-Tamil Nadu ministers is to be welcomed. It is however a matter of regret that this enquiry was not made as and when the allegations were made. I have always been of opinion that there should be a high-level statutory All-India Tribunal which will be automatically seized of all such allegations and enquire into their truth. It is improper and dangerous to allow such allegations to become political weapons of party struggles.

Hitherto, action under Article 356 has been taken only on two grounds: (1) there is a breakdown of law and order in the State, and (2) it is not possible to instal a Ministry having the support of majority of members of the State Assembly. As neither of these conditions obtained in Tamil Nadu, it is sought to set up a new criterion, namely the State Ministry and legislature are not functioning to the satisfaction of the Central Government. The present order dissolving the Assembly and dismissing the Ministry has been made just seven weeks before the Assembly would have come to an end in the natural course and a General Election should have been ordered. It would have been then open for non-D. M. K. candidates to convince the electorate of the misdeeds and failures of the D. M. K. Government and party and, if they succeeded, a new Assembly with a different set of members and a new ministry would have come into existence within three months.

THE "UNIONVERSITY"

J. W. CHAPMAN

AMERICAN higher education is intensely competitive. Permanent appointment in our leading universities is won through a process of prolonged national and international competition, the purpose of which is to select the best qualified persons. Typically academic departments, on the basis of their specialized knowledge, evaluate the contenders for tenured appointment and recommend the best to the administrative officers. These officers have authority to review the departmental recommendation, and with the help of independently obtained professional advice, they approve or reject the candidate. Final responsibility for integrity of this appointive process rests with the Chancellor and the Board of Trustees.

In the university there is no alternative to the principle of competitive merit. Its application is the only way to provide fairness to the contestants. It is the source of our institutional vitality, and it directly serves the public interest by advance of scientific and scholarly knowledge. The worth of our students' degrees depends decisively upon our strict adherence to it. Without foundation in competitively demonstrated merit, the privileges of academic tenure and freedom are devoid of legitimacy and significance. In its 1974 Report, The Tenure Commission said: "The principle of open, competitive appointment, conjoined with high absolute standards of excellence, guarantees that only persons of outstanding ability and achievement will receive tenure, with its attendant rights, immunities, and responsibilities."

None of the advocates of a "Unionversity" has endorsed this Report. Rather they speak of academic "tenure" as a "right" that can be "earned" by meeting a standard called "merit" without reference to the merits of competitors. It is as though one were to say to Chuck Noll, "You may put only Pittsburghers on the team, and everyone who meets the local, not the national, standard of play shall have a starting post!" That is to say, in the "unionversity" not only is the principle of competitive merit displaced by the practice of localized patronage, but also the corporate responsibility of the Chancellor for appointment of the best qualified is destroyed.

Those who would unionize the University seek to legitimize and to dignify their ambition by calling it "collective bargaining." This is gravely misleading. For the purposes and consequences of unionization in higher education are entirely different from the aims and accomplishments of industrial unions. To unionize the universities is to destroy their institutional independence nd to sacrifice justice and the public interest for private advantage. The stark reality is that men and women want those permanent university positions, each worth more than a million dollars and offering freedom that no other profession can match. And today they are prepared to betray academic ideals and responsibilities to get them.

Public Law 195, which made possible the invasion of the universities by the unions, is an unmitigated disaster for our system of higher education. It legalized the standing human temptation to desert professional trust for personal security. Good laws help men and women remain true to themselves.

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